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Anthony D. Allen: A Prosperous American of African Descent in Early 19th Century Hawai‘i

INTRODUCTION

OF THE DOZENS OF PEOPLE of African descent who settled in Hawai‘i during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Anthony D. Allen is the best known. His name appears in personal journals of contemporaries, in published travel accounts, and in newspaper and magazine articles of the day. One of the earliest descriptions of Allen appears in a journal kept by a newly arrived American Protestant missionary in 1820:

There are many white residents here—the most pay an outward respect, sending us little presents of fresh pork, corn, beans and the like. . . . There is one black man, Anthony Allen, brought up in Schenectady, New York, who I believe lives the most comfortably of any on the island—has a wife and two pretty children, the eldest of whom he has taught its letters. He has been very kind to us, sending us potatoes, squashes, etc. As often as once in two weeks, a goat or kid neatly dressed,—every morning, two bottles of goat’s milk, and many things I cannot mention. . . .¹

This appraisal of Allen provides a glimpse into the life of an African American who was born into slavery at the time of the Revolutionary War and became a respected, prosperous settler in early 19th century Hawai‘i.²

Marc Scruggs, a Honolulu resident, portrays Anthony Allen in the Mission Houses Museum Living History program and The Department of Education’s Artists in the Schools program.

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Other American missionaries also noted Allen's generosity and neighborliness and were impressed by his stalwart character. The individual comments tell little about Allen, but when pieced together a mosaic of this remarkable man appears.

This paper is a biography of Anthony D. Allen, also known in Hawai'i as Alani.³ It is based on fragments of information scattered throughout the writings on early Hawai'i. The main sources are the published and unpublished writings of the missionaries, the journal of Allen's long time friend Stephen Reynolds, and the comments of various visitors to Hawai'i who wrote about Allen. In addition, detailed information about his early life is revealed in the recently discovered letter (see Appendix).

EARLY LIFE

According to an obituary published in the *Seaman's Magazine*, Allen "was born on the German Flats, in New York, in 1774."⁴ This is the only date discovered for Allen's birth. An index of slave births in Schenectady, the administrative center for German Flats at that time, lists only one child named Anthony, but with no surname, born June 15, 1772, two years earlier than the date stated in Allen's obituary.⁵ The baptismal records at St. George's Church in Schenectady reveal two Anthonys; one was baptised in 1772, and the other in 1775.⁶ Neither entry gives dates of birth or surnames. If the second Anthony's baptism took place in the year of his birth, 1775, he would have been 24 in 1800, the age Allen was when he became free, according to Sybil Bingham.⁷ In the letter Allen wrote to the son of his former owner, Doctor Dougal, he gave May 13, 1800 as the date of his departure from Schenectady and confirms the age that Bingham reported.⁸ This opens the possibility that the child baptized August 13, 1775 was Allen.

Little is known about Allen's family of origin. The only family member whose name has survived is Diana, a sister. The Sandwich Island Mission Journal⁹ entry gives her name and states she had two children. No record has been found of other siblings. Some information is available about his father. In the letter to Schenectady, Allen discusses his father's sea adventure on the Northwest Coast, a disagreement he had with him about his step-

mother, and his father's debts and poor business sense. Allen's comments about his search and reunion with his father in Boston lead to speculation that the senior Allen had been either a free man or a refugee for some time. A passing reference is made by Allen about his mother when he describes his successful attempt to arrange for a new slave master. Allen feared that his old master's widow, Doctor Dougal's mother, might be forced to sell him and he would have to leave his mother. In an attempt to manipulate, if not control, his own life, Allen found a man who lived in Schenectady willing to buy him from Mrs. Dougal for \$300. No other mention is made in the available documents of his mother.

REFUGEE FROM SLAVERY

In the letter written to Dougal, Anthony Allen gives a graphic account of his flight to freedom. The route he took, incidentally, is the reverse of what would become one of the most heavily used "underground railway" routes to Canada by Southern refugees from slavery in the mid-19th century:

To begin the story of the wanderings & adventures of your poor unworthy servant, I left Schenectady on . . . foot, passed Albany & Troy . . . went up to Bennington, called at Dewey's . . . went over the Green Mountain to Charlemont. Being short of Provisions I stopped at Hanks [*sic*] and worked a day. . . . Went on to Ely Cooley's in Deerfield where I worked 6 weeks then on to Farmington, Conn. and worked there some time for Eben Gleason. At Hartford I went on board Sloop Henry, William Wickam master & worked my passage to Boston. . . .¹⁰

Thus Anthony D. Allen joined the growing ranks of free Blacks. His escape from slavery came at a time when Americans of all races and classes were converging on Boston and the country's other port cities looking for jobs and opportunities. Possibly one reason Allen went to Boston was to find his father. Another probable reason was that Boston was a free city. New York City was more accessible to Schenectady by river, but New York was still a slave state and did not begin the emancipation of slaves

until 1799.¹¹ The courts of Massachusetts, however, had declared slavery unconstitutional in the early 1780s when two slaves in separate cases sued for freedom.¹² Boston's slave-free status and thriving port had attracted a large free African American population in the years following the Revolution.¹³ Those men and women settled in Boston on the north side of Beacon Hill and along the waterfront where they owned many homes, schools, churches, and businesses. In 1796, the Boston African Society was founded, one of the first African relief societies in America.¹⁴ It is likely that the African Relief Society in Honolulu that held a parade at Allen's place in 1832¹⁵ was modeled after that organization.

In 1800, the year Allen first arrived in Boston, the authorities of that city began enforcing a 1788 commonwealth statute:

. . . no person being an African or Negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen) shall tarry within this Commonwealth, for longer time than two months.¹⁶

Notification was given that 239 "Negroes" were in violation of the statute. Two men with the surname of Allen were on the list, but their given names were "Richard" and "Rhodes," and their places of origin were Philadelphia and Rhode Island respectively.¹⁷ If Allen's father did not have papers to prove his free status, he may have been one of these men. At any rate, we know from Allen's letter that his father was at sea at the time of the notice.

The Boston authorities were not successful in deporting all of the Black immigrants. The attempt, however, must have created extreme cautiousness and apprehension among all people of African descent who had regarded that port as a safe haven.¹⁸ Possibly, this was one of the reasons Allen went to sea. Many other African Americans worked in the maritime industry during this period as crew members, pilots, cooks, stewards, stevedores, builders, and captains. In the coming decades, Americans with African lineage would account for up to 50 percent of the maritime forces.¹⁹

The only information about Allen's life in Boston comes from his 1822 letter and the journal of a missionary. After attending a dinner Allen gave for the missionaries, Daniel Chamberlain observed: "Mr. Allen is one of the first rate cooks as he lived in one of the first boarding houses in Boston. . . ." ²⁰ Allen indicated that he went to work in 1807, during a naval embargo, for Widow Watts on Water Street at four dollars a month. He worked for her less than a year. Possibly this is the boarding house referred to by Chamberlain who also reported that Allen was a ship's steward. In his letter, Allen confirms this by stating that he worked for the same sea captain for eight years, seven as steward and one as cook. He lists the ships he sailed on, the ports he visited, and his adventures, including a shipwreck and an encounter with pirates. Once he was arrested in a Southern seaport and barely escaped being sold back into slavery. One of his most extraordinary experiences occurred in 1806 when he ran into his former slave master and was imprisoned as a runaway. One of the owners of the ship Allen had been sailing on paid off the former slave master, and Allen regained his freedom. Allen described the transaction:

Coolege [the ship owner] told him [the slave owner] if he would take the 300 doll. and think himself well paid he [the ship owner] would give it tho it was a great price to pay for a man, who might die before he could reach the wharf. After some hesitation he [the slave owner] took it, & as he left the place the people snow-balled him. ²¹

Coolege accepted a note signed by Allen for the ransom he had paid in his behalf. After signing the note, Allen sailed for the first time without a bounty on his head to China. He returned to Boston in April 1807, exactly one year later, his indebtedness fully paid.

Allen weaves an intriguing tale while describing some of the events and people he encountered during the years he spent at sea. He saw the "Black Liberator" of Haiti, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the famous British Admiral Lord Nelson in France. He traveled to China and to the Northwest Coast of the United States on a fur expedition, as had his father a few years before. Twice he

sailed on ships involved in the rum trade between Boston and Havana. He visited Cuba, Santo Domingo, India, Jamaica, France, and Indonesia before visiting the Hawaiian Islands for the first time in 1810 or 1811. After a stint as steward to Kamehameha I, Allen acquired his land in Hawai'i in 1811. In 1812, after a trip to China, he left the sea for a new life. Allen lived on the island of O'ahu until his death in 1835.

THE MISSIONARY VIEW OF ALLEN

Anthony D. Allen was well established in the Islands by the time the first company of missionaries arrived in 1820. Shortly after their arrival in June, Allen invited the entire company to his home, and several recorded the event in their diaries and journals. Their accounts provide insights into a life they found comfortable and prosperous. Maria S. Loomis wrote most extensively of the visit:

Among the residents of this Island is a Black man native of Schenectady named Allen. He has been our constant friend, has daily furnished us with milk and once or twice a week with fresh meat and vegetables. He has also made us a number of other valuable presents. A few days ago in compliance with a previous invitation the Mission Family spent the day with him. He lives on a beautiful plain called Wyteta [Waikiki] about two miles from this village. When ready to go our little hand cart which came with us from America was brought that those who were unable to walk might ride. With three or four boys to draw the cart and a numerous retinue to attend us we left home in good spirits and arrived at Allen's about eleven o'clock. He stood at his gate to welcome us into a neat little room treated us to wine, sat down with us a short time and left us to prepare for dinner. His wihena [*wahine*, woman] kept in her little bedroom seated on the mat with her babe about 8 months old. His little daughter Peggy a bright child of six years was very attentive to the children helping them to peanuts &C. Dinner being ready we were invited to the eating house. A large table was spread in the American style, with almost every variety, and in the neatest order. Our first dish was an excellent stewpye, after which a baked pig, pork and fowls, mutton, beef, various kinds of vegetables, tarow [taro] pancakes, hard poa [*poi*], a pud-

ding, watermellon, wine and brandy, and water out of an excellent well and I believe the only one on the island. Nothing seemed to be wanting but the presence of our dear friends to complete our happiness. After dinner we walked out to view his territories. He has a large enclosure with 8 or 10 houses, which are an eating, cooking, and sleeping house. The rest are occupied by boarders and tenants, a yard of three hundred goats and a good garden. He has a squash vine in his garden now bearing the sixth crop all originating from one hill. . . . After taking a dish of coffee and some fried cake we prepared to return and with cheerful hearts arrived in safety to our little dwelling.²²

Five other missionaries recorded the excursion to Allen's homestead. The accounts give similar descriptions of Allen's physical surroundings, but each gives additional information about Allen's compound and the events of the day. Sybil Bingham observes his: ". . . territories (which were a large enclosure surrounded by a high fence of poles put into the ground after the native style) we found him at his gate waiting to give us a polite and cordial reception." Bingham provides more detailed information regarding the use of the 10 or 12 dwellings mentioned by Loomis in Allen's compound: "Within the enclosure were his dwelling, eating and cooking houses, with many more for a numerous train of dependents."²³ Maria Partridge Whitney noted:

. . . in one corner of the room stood a table filled with decanters and the other glasses. He immediately offered us some refreshing cordials, then took his seat with us a short time, and afterwards went to prepare for dinner. . . . When it was ready we were invited to the eating house which was 2 or 3 rods distant from the one in which we sat. We were seated at a large table well furnished with glass and china, and a superfluity of provisions.

Mrs. Whitney added that the meal was followed with "pudding, and watermelon, with wine and brandy."²⁴

The missionaries were obviously impressed with Allen's establishment, dinner, and hospitality. Sybil Bingham noted somewhat enviously, "It was not missionary fare."²⁵ Another wrote, "We cannot but consider ourselves happy in finding such a neighbor."²⁶

After the dinner, Allen's guests were given a tour of his "territories." Information from various journals reveal what some of Allen's enterprises were in 1820. Printer Elisha Loomis mentioned a fish pond.²⁷ The journal kept aboard the *Thaddeus* gives the additional observation that the pond is valuable and "provides frequent supplies". The journal entry also mentions a well.²⁸ The good quality of the water and the fact that it was the only well on the island until their own was dug is commented upon several times by the first company.²⁹

After the elaborate feast he prepared in 1820, Allen apparently expected to have his children baptised by Hiram Bingham. According to Sybil Bingham, "Mr. B. [Bingham] had sent him a letter the night before, and now by conversing with him alone satisfied his mind that something more was necessary before his children could be thus given up to GOD. . . ."³⁰ The conditions set by Bingham were not recorded, nor was it noted whether they were ever met. Allen's disclosure of his unusual marital status may have been "the something more [that] was necessary . . ." before the children could be baptised. Obviously, it was not a secret that he had two wives since he freely dictated that fact to Hiram Bingham in the course of writing to Doctor Dougal. Given Allen's description of other well-known foreigners, polygyny was not at all unusual. Allen apparently was not unduly disturbed by Bingham's refusal to baptise his children since he continued to support the missionaries materially. This is further evidenced by his attendance at their Sunday evening prayer meetings, at least one of which was held at his compound in 1831.³¹

In 1823, the second company of missionaries arrived, and once again missionaries met and wrote about Allen. One of that company, Betsey Stockton, was the first woman of African ancestry in the Islands. She noted in her journal, "Mr. Allen was very kind to me, and seemed happy to see one of his own country people." Later, while Stockton was settling on Maui, she confided to her journal her regrets at having to leave behind her new friends, Allen and his wife.³²

Allen's concerns about his children's spiritual needs appear to have been one reason he established a solid relationship with the

new arrivals. But his children's educational needs and those of the community at large were also among his primary concerns. Hiram Bingham noted in the Thaddeus journal: "He is very friendly to us, and to the objects of our mission . . . subscribed 15 dollars to the orphan school fund; and offers to build a school house at his own expense, if we will have a school near his residence. . . ." Where Allen built the school is not known, but most likely it was at the site of his compound. Allen's own educational background remains a mystery, beyond his being literate, for which there is ample evidence. Several observers noted this, including Hiram Bingham who wrote: "He [Allen] has . . . two interesting children. . . . One of them he is now teaching to read."³³ Two letters with the signature "Anthony D. Allen" and a receipt signed "A. D. Allen" have survived, and while it appears that the hand that penned the letters is different from the one that signed them, this may be explained by Allen using the services of a scribe, as did many people of his time.

INQUIRIES FROM SCHENECTADY

On November 23, 1822, Sybil Bingham noted that Allen "came early, one morning, with his two children, to spend the day by Mr. B. whose pen he wished to be employed, while he gave a rehearsal . . ." ³⁴ (See Appendix). Allen was responding to a letter he had received from the son of his former owner, the "Dr. Dougal" of Schenectady. Dougal, after many years without contact with Allen, had read an article in the June 23, 1821 issue of the *Missionary Herald* which described Allen's generosity and the good circumstances in which he lived in Hawai'i. The content of Dougal's letter is unknown, but Sybil Bingham said that "Allen was much affected" by it (see letter). According to Bingham, Allen's reply to Dougal gave a brief history of his life since leaving Schenectady. Allen collected a variety of gifts to send with his letter back to Schenectady which were included in a packet sent by the missionaries to a friend in Connecticut. Sybil Bingham attached a letter to the packet in which she explained: "The things which you find with a direction to Dr. Dougal, Schenec-

tady, were committed to our care by Allen of Wititee [Waikīkī], as a present from him to that gentleman, and to Allen's sister living at S—[Schenectady]. . . ." Almost as an afterthought she added: ". . . We thought . . . it might be pleasant to you to see some of the articles . . . which our means will not allow us to procure. . . ." An article in the Sandwich Island Mission Journal provides more detail about the contents of Allen's packet:

. . . Mr. Allen sends to his sister Diana, in Schenectady, a present of 20. doll. with a number of articles of the manufactures of this country, given by his wife & daughter to his sister & her children. He presents Dr. Dougal a curious water proof garment manufactured & worn by the natives of Onalasla [the Aleutians].³⁶

Other prominent residents of Schenectady made inquiries about Allen's welfare after the article appeared in the *Missionary Herald*. The Reverend Charles S. Stewart visited Schenectady before he came to Hawai'i with the second company. Shortly after arriving in Hawai'i, he wrote: "When in Schenectady I was particularly requested by Dr. Yates to call on Anthony Allen, the African who is settled here, and who was once in the family of a gentleman of Schenectady." Stewart sent a copy of his private journal to the Reverend Ashbel Green of Philadelphia, in which he described Allen's circumstances. Stewart asked Green to convey his detailed account of Allen to those persons in Schenectady who might be interested in him:

I have been frequently at his house and have but just now returned. He is quite a respectable man, and has a very neat and comfortable establishment for this country. His enclosure contains near a dozen good mud houses—one for a sitting and sleeping room, one for eating, a store house, kitchen, milk room, blacksmith's shop, &c. &c. and is a favourite resort of the more respectable of the seamen who visit Honoruru [Honolulu]. At times his place is quite a hospital, the sick from the ships being generally sent to be boarded and nursed by him. The milk from his large flock of goats is very serviceable to them. With this he also supplies the tables of many of the captains in port, and of the commercial

agents, &c. In this way, and by the cultivation of a small plantation, which he holds under the ex-high priest [Hewahewa] of the island, he has accumulated considerable personal property, and makes a comfortable support for his wife (a modest and interesting native) and three children.³⁷

Whether Green made the trip to Schenectady is not recorded. He did, however, publish excerpts from Stewart's private journal which differ from the book later published by Stewart. The excerpts reveal Allen had shown Stewart a letter he had received from Doctor Dougal. Stewart recalled seeing the name of a "Mr. Duane" in the letter, as one of several "gentlemen" from Schenectady who visited Allen in Honolulu after the article appeared.³⁸ The amiable nature of the inquiries of these Schenectady people about Allen suggests genuine interest in re-establishing ties with someone who had earned their respect.

STEPHEN REYNOLD'S FAVORITE RESORT

Of all the people who wrote about Anthony D. Allen, Stephen Reynolds left the largest number of notations about him. Reynolds settled in the Islands in approximately 1823 and kept a personal journal which spanned 32 years of the Hawaiian Kingdom's history. Those he kept during his first months, which may have included notes about his initial meeting with Allen, are missing, but the surviving journals contain more than 100 entries about Allen. These range from business transactions to entertainment and reveal tiny, interesting morsels about the only personal relationship recorded about Allen. The first entry, November 12, 1823, refers to Allen by name: "Mr. Allen came and told me he was going to Mowea [Maui] & Owyhee [Hawai'i]."³⁹ Reynolds joined Allen aboard the schooner *Terrible*, and they sailed to Maui to make an unidentified business transaction. A month later, back on O'ahu, a humorous side of their friendship is revealed when Reynolds recorded that he and Mr. Allen had walked to Mr. Goodrich's one evening when the "Moon was uncommonly bright." While there they had played a practical joke, presumably

on Mr. Goodrich.⁴⁰ The next day Reynolds noted: "afternoon went to the wash place with Allen and Temple."⁴¹ The following week Reynolds wrote: "Allen playing checkers with me. Beat me."⁴² Many of the entries are simply notations of Reynolds' visits to Allen's place, sometimes with a friend, other times alone: ". . . after dinner Cpts Meek, & Rogers, Mr. Thompson & self rode to Allen's."⁴³ "Afternoon rode with Mr. Jones, in his Gig, to Allen's where they were killing Beef. . . ."⁴⁴ "Afternoon rode to Allen's with John Meek."⁴⁵ "Afternoon rode to Allen's."⁴⁶ Occasionally the notations do not mention Allen by name, but because of the activity involved, it is obvious that the entry is in reference to Allen. For example, "many gone to Wytetee [Waikīkī] to roll nine pins . . .", undoubtedly refers to Allen's place since his was the only bowling alley operating during that period.⁴⁷

Throughout the material dealing with Allen, numerous citations affirm positive aspects of his character, and only two note problems he had with other residents. Reynolds wrote both without elaboration: "Old Swan came to make a complaint against Allen".⁴⁸ Reynolds noted a second complaint but dealt only with the outcome and gave no information about the conflict itself: "Spent most of day in settling Allen's, Henry Steward & Antonio Sam. Henry to pay Antonio 25.00—Allen to pay—Henry 25.00 and settle with King for flogging and putting in irons Henry's wife."⁴⁹

SIX ACRES IN WAIKĪKĪ

One missionary wrote, "Allen . . . has become a man of property by his own industry."⁵⁰ The basis for most of Allen's successful business activities was the land that he held in Waikīkī. In his letter to Schenectady, Allen tells how he acquired his land:

I came ashore with permission and lived four months with Heavaheva the high Priest of the Islands. . . . I applied to Heavaheva . . . for land & Ab. Moxley . . . interpreted my request. The High Priest gave me a piece of land at Waititi containing about six acres. . . . I gave the Priest a few small articles, principally, a fathom of broadcloth, and a bar of Russian iron. . . .⁵¹

Several early observers described the location of Allen's land in relation to the village of Honolulu. Maria Loomis thought the missionary compound at the edge of Honolulu was about two miles from Allen's place,⁵² as did Charles Stewart: "Mr. Allen's place is near two miles from the town and mission house. . . ." ⁵³ Stephen Reynolds later confirmed, ". . . I Measured the road to Allen's found distance 2 Miles 2/8. . . ." ⁵⁴ Today the land that once was Allen's compound is the site of Washington Intermediate School at the intersection of Punahou and King Streets in Honolulu. It is identified on title maps of the Department of Education as the "Old Allen Place".⁵⁵ This area lies between Waikīkī and Mānoa Valley and is still called Pawa'a, but is referred to in documents as both Waikīkī and Pawa'a.

John Papa Ii, a neighbor of Allen, in his testimony during a land division in 1843, told how Allen acquired his land: "The Allens got this land from an old high Priest—"Hewa hewa. . . . this land was given him in the time of 'Kamehameha I'." Ii also noted, "The old man Allen, who is now dead, had a large land given him at first, and it was afterwards all taken away from him but this piece."⁵⁶ It was not unusual for the Monarchy to reclaim land earlier granted to individuals. Elsewhere Ii wrote, ". . . parcels of land at Waikiki . . . were given to chiefs and prominent persons."⁵⁷ It would appear that Allen was such a salient person.

In 1843, after Allen's death, two of his children filed a land claim with the British Land Commission which gives the dimensions of the land.

Honolulu Oahu, May 22d/43 [1843]
To the Honorable British Commission
My Lord & Gentlemen

We beg leave to lay before the Honorable Commission our claim to a certain piece of land situated on this island, bequested to us by our father Anthony D. Allen: said Land is known by the name of Pawwa [Pawa'a] situated about two miles from the village of Honolulu, on the road leading to Waititi—Described as follows:

Commencing at N. & W. corner
and running S. 46 W. 262 feet—thence

" S. 51 E. 399 " "

" N. 46 E. 216 " "

" N. 44 W. 398 1/2" to the place of commencement, including an area of One Acre—156 Rods—& 97 feet—

We have the honor to be My Lord & Gentlemen,

Your Most Obt. humble Servts.

George C. Allen, and for my brother Anthony Allen⁵⁸

A different description of the land is given in papers filed in 1847. The land is described at the later date as being "acres 2 Fathoms 18 1/2." ⁵⁹

Allen's land was sold in the 1840's for a few hundred dollars by his children. It was not sold again until the 1920's when the "Old Allen Place" once again became a site for a school.

OTHER ENTERPRISES

Allen's land hosted a variety of business enterprises, including animal husbandry, farming, a boarding house, a hospital, a bowling alley, and a grog shop. Besides keeping his own animals, Allen boarded cattle for others. Levi Chamberlain mentions cattle given to the missionaries that were kept at Allen's compound:

Capt. Wildes somedays since presented the mission two young cows one designed for Mr. Whitney & the other for Mr. Stewart, I went with him to Mr. Allen's where they have been kept since they were brought from the Coast of California where he delivered them to me.⁶⁰

Reynolds also noted cattle boarded by Allen: "Afternoon went to Allen's & sold by Auction six cattle belonging to owner of Unity. . . ." ⁶¹ William French and John Colcord, early Honolulu merchants, recorded payments they made to Allen for boarding horses. ⁶² French also recorded payments to Allen from ships' captains for horses they boarded with him. ⁶³ Several notations in Reynold's journal between 1827 and 1832 about a white colt which he boarded at Allen's compound give a glimpse of the quality of care and the types of services Allen provided:

February 29, 1827 Sent colt to Allen's.⁶⁴

September 16, 1827 Fine morn. Afternoon rode to Wytete to see white colt found him in fine condition. . . .⁶⁵

May 5, 1828 Had my white colt cut. . . .⁶⁶

June 20, 1832 Cloudy morn . . . sold my white colt for \$83 Dollars!!!. . . .⁶⁷

Stewart's journal reveals that Allen may have operated the first commercial dairy in the Islands: "The milk from his large flock of goats is very serviceable to them [convalescing seamen]. With this he also supplies the tables of many of the captains in port, and of the commercial agents, &c."⁶⁸ Tyermann and Bennett also mention this enterprise.⁶⁹ One of the first entries made by the missionaries about Allen mentioned that he was supplying them with milk: "He has been very kind to us, sending us . . . every morning, two bottles of goat's milk. . . ."⁷⁰

Reynolds has several entries about Allen's slaughterhouse: "Afternoon rode with Mr. Jones, in his Gig, to Allen's where they were killing Beef."⁷¹ "Nov. 7, Sun. Killed an ox at Allen's yesterday; very fat & tender."⁷² In December, Reynolds noted, "Allen sent Beef for Christmas."⁷³

The missionaries also mention fresh meat from Allen. Maria Loomis commented, "By his generosity we have been . . . supplied . . . once or twice a week with fresh meat. . . ."⁷⁴ The following day Maria Whitney wrote, ". . . [Allen] sends us . . . frequently a goat or a piece of pork, dressed very neatly. . . ."⁷⁵ Daniel Chamberlain noted: "July 4. Our friend Allen has sent us some excellent mutton or goat's meat to celebrate the fourth of July. . . ."⁷⁶ Tyermann and Bennett commented in 1823:

His present flock of goats amounts to two hundred, having been lately reduced one half below the usual average by the great demand, from ship-captains, for provisions of this kind: he sells the animals to them at prices according to their size, from half a dollar to three dollars a head. He also breeds and keeps a great number of dogs to supply the native flesh-market. . . .⁷⁷

Prices had not changed dramatically 11 years later according to a receipt dated 1834 and signed by Allen: “. . . 2 quarters mutton . . . \$1.25 . . . 1 quarter lamb . . . 50 cents. . . . 13 1/2 lbs. beef . . . 93 cents. . . .”⁷⁸

It is not clear when Allen opened his boarding house in Waikīkī, but judging from the comments of residents and visitors in the 1820s, it was well established and “generally visited by gentlemen who call at this island.”⁷⁹ It appears that a cross section of people visited the establishment. The food was good and plentiful, and the accoutrements were the most comfortable of any in the Islands;⁸⁰ however, the most significant ingredient in the success of the place was probably Allen himself. From all accounts he was an honorable, congenial, generous, respectable, and gracious man,⁸¹ necessary traits for the proprietor of the earliest known resort in Waikīkī.

In 1823, Reynolds recorded for the first time a visit to Allen’s bowling alley. Given the numerous notations made by Reynolds about the alley, it must have been popular: “All the village rolling at Allen’s.”⁸² A few days later Reynolds recorded: “. . . afternoon went to Allens, rolled Croker and Green Lost 75 [cents].”⁸³ Wagering, as well as the novelty of the game, may have been the attraction to the bowling alley. Whatever the motive, Allen’s place became so popular that for a short time a “Mr. Temple” and Reynolds provided transportation from Honolulu to Allen’s place. At the end of May 1823, Reynolds noted that they had borrowed a carriage to take a large party bowling.⁸⁴ On June 10, he mentioned he had taken a large party to roll nine pins.⁸⁵

Allen’s facilities were apparently available for special occasions. According to Reynolds: “The gentleman cooks and stewards kept their 4th of July at Allen’s. Had a dinner and ball in the afternoon.”⁸⁶ Reynolds also reported a Royal guest at Allen’s: “King [Kauikeaouli] had a Grand Dinner at A. D. Allen’s. The company came up at sunset. Music played very late.”⁸⁷ Allen’s place was also the site for “A great parade . . . of the African Relief Society. A collation light meal was given to the Residents among whom were the English & American Consuls Gov. Finlison, Mr. Reed, & many more.”⁸⁸

None of the missionaries’ 1820s descriptions of Allen’s establish-

ment mention a grog shop on the premises, although several, including Sybil Bingham, noted that liquor was served to them: "He set upon the table decaners and glasses with wine and brandy to refresh us. . . ." ⁸⁹ His trade in alcohol may have increased, but for certain a change in attitude about spirits which took place among the missionaries. When the British missionaries from Tahiti visited Allen in 1822, they counseled him on the evil of trading in liquor:

. . . and [Allen] deals largely in spirituous liquors, a trade more profitable, we fear, than beneficial to himself or his customers—for the latter being principally sailors, the Sabbath-day is miserably profaned by the traffic, and the debauchery attending the traffic, in these pestilent commodities. We ventured to expostulate with him on the subject, but he justified himself by saying that he could not help it. . . . ⁹⁰

Not all of the missionaries, however, seemed to view Allen's business as a nuisance. A year later Stewart noted: ". . . it is a favourite resort of the more respectable of the seamen who visit Honoruru. . . ." ⁹¹ In fact, the British missionaries wrote elsewhere, "This negro's premises and lands are all in remarkably good order . . . distinguishing the . . . persons, and behaviour of all his associates and dependants. . . ." ⁹²

ALLEN'S HOSPITAL

During the 1820s, several writers mention Allen's place as a hospital where ill or injured seamen and sea captains were taken ashore to recuperate. Safety and health conditions on 19th century sailing vessels were frequently far below even the poor standards of the day. The ill and injured were routinely left ashore to fend for themselves—if they were fortunate enough to make it to port. Allen, who had been at sea, probably realized the need for decent medical care. How he acquired his medical skills is unknown, but it is known that the son of his former owner in Schenectady was a doctor. Perhaps Allen was reared in a medical household where he assisted and learned basic medicine. His boarding house and

his skills as a "practitioner of physics" resulted in a convalescent hospital for seamen.

Several mention Allen's hospital. Stewart, as noted earlier, commented, "At times his place is quite an hospital, the sick from the ships being generally sent to be boarded and nursed by him."⁹³ Tyermann and Bennett also make reference to Allen's medical skills: "We hear that he practices physic . . . and is often consulted both by natives and seamen, having gained credit also in this profession."⁹⁴ Levi Chamberlain records, "After dinner I went with Mr. Buel to see a sailor belonging to the Connecticut, who is at Mr. Allen's sick."⁹⁵ The "sailing master of the Active" also apparently recuperated at Allen's hospital after injuring his leg in a riding accident in the vicinity.⁹⁶

Reynolds noted the confinement of a well-known sea captain on December 9, 1824, "Capt. Best moved to Allen's."⁹⁷ A few days later Reynolds wrote: "Capt. Best was very crazy. Sent after strait jacket presume he was irritated by company."⁹⁸ Reynolds wrote on Christmas Eve: "Capt Cross, Rogers, Kemish & I went to Allen's to see Best, found him better than I expected said he was glad to see us, it did him good had not laughed before for some time".⁹⁹ Apparently two of Captain Best's crew also were at Allen's for treatment of scurvy. When Reynolds paid Best's account in early January, he paid Allen for their board and care.¹⁰⁰

In 1828, Allen had at least one competitor for boarding the sick, namely a Mr. Nathan Spears. According to Reynolds, Captain Potter of the *Abigail* became ill. He was brought ashore to convalesce at Allen's, but a week later Reynolds noted: "A Subscription raised for Capt. Potter. He was removed from Allen's, to Mr. Spear's."¹⁰¹ By the end of the following week, a Mr. Charles R. Smith was also moved from Allen's to Mr. Spears'.¹⁰² The other options available to the ill or injured are not clear, but in 1833 John Diell wrote:

Mr. Reynolds, who acted as American consul in the absence of Mr. Jones informed me, that of about \$20,000, which were appropriated by the United States government in the year 1832, for the support of their sick and destitute seamen in foreign parts, nearly one-sixth part was expended at this place [Honolulu].¹⁰³

It appears that Allen received a good portion of that allowance. In November of 1831, Reynolds recorded a financial transaction between the American Agent for Commerce and Seamen, John C. Jones Jr., and Allen, which was probably for services rendered at Allen's hospital: "Gave Mr. Jones Allen's Bills."¹⁰⁴ Later Reynolds wrote, "A. D. Allen gave me an order on J. C. Jones for two hundred dollars. . . ."¹⁰⁵ Reynolds last entry regarding the transaction was, "Yesterday Mr. Jones accepted Allen's order on him for two hundred dollars. . . ."¹⁰⁶

Reynolds himself was possibly one of Allen's patients. In August 1829, Reynolds wrote: "Very unwell. Afternoon rode to Allen's in wagon with Meek and felt better for it."¹⁰⁷ Whether Reynolds meant that the ride or treatment by Allen helped him is not clear.

Tyermann and Bennett,¹⁰⁸ as well as Reynolds, recorded that Allen also treated Hawaiians. Reynolds wrote: "Afternoon rode to Allens in wagon with tandem team. Saw a bug larger than a bed bug which came out of a native woman's ear."¹⁰⁹

ALLEN'S BURIAL GROUND

The Allen compound included a cemetery for members of his family as well as for seamen who died while boarding with him. Reynolds noted that he read the funeral service for Byrd, "a Distressed American Seaman. . . . He had lived at A. D. Allen's."¹¹⁰ In 1833, Reynolds said that the African Relief Society paid for the coffin of a seaman named Bowen who died at Allen's place.¹¹¹

Allen's place continued to be used as a cemetery after his death. Allen's son-in-law, Robert Moffet, died in 1838, and according to Reynolds, "His remains were put by [the] side of A. D. Allen."¹¹² Five months later, Reynolds noted that the cemetery was still being used for American sailors: "At six went down to Allen's place—to bury Merherthar [Merriweather] who died this morning early. One of the Consulate Men, from Ship Timoleon, Consumption."¹¹³ It is not clear if Merriweather was a boarder at Allen's or whether some sort of arrangement existed between Allen's children and the American Consulate for the burial of destitute seamen.

ROAD TO MĀNOA

Several references in the literature deal with Allen's efforts to maintain the roads near his property. In 1828, he sent the following note to Levi Chamberlain:

Sir:

I have taken the liberty this morning to stop your cart and had the load left in the Gulch and by drawing four or five loads more of stones we will be able to make a good road. The road as it is now will only be the cause of some of your cattle getting their legs if not their necks broken, and to prevent the like I thought it my duty to stop the load in order to repair the road. This is the second time that I was force[d] to lend the men who lived with me to help the cattle out of the gulch. Give my best respects to the missionaries. Hoping that you will not be affronted at what I have done, I remain

Your Humble & Obediant Servant
Anthony D. Allen¹¹⁴

Apparently Chamberlain concurred with Allen's assessment, but when Chamberlain recorded the particulars of the incident, he did not mention receiving Allen's note. He gives no credit to Allen for initiating the project and states that the repairs and the enlistment of Allen and his men were done on his, Chamberlain's, initiative:

Smith the mollato man whom we have employed by the month at 18 dollars pr month, has been employed today with the cart and cattle (both yoke) in drawing stones from a ledge in the neighborhood of Mr. Allen's. Having met with difficulty in passing a gully near Mr. Allen's house which detained him I walked up, and having found the place very bad I concluded to let him drop a few loads with the asst. of Mr. Allen and his people to repair the way.¹¹⁵

A few days later Chamberlain recorded that he and Mr. Goodrich joined Allen and his crew at the gully with a plow to help level the sides. This is probably the same location Reynolds referred to

when he noted, "Gave three dollars to build bridge over the large gulch near Allen's."¹¹⁶

Towards the end of the summer in 1829, Reynolds wrote, "Afternoon went to see Allen's new road. . . ." ¹¹⁷ That same year, C. S. Stewart returned to the Islands after an absence of four years. He described what may have been the road referred to by Reynolds:

The valley of Manoa, you recollect, was always a favorite resort of mine—this afternoon Mr. Bingham drove me in a wagon to it. There is now a good carriage road . . . as far as the country house of Kaahumanu . . . five miles from Honolulu. ¹¹⁸

It appears that Allen helped oversee the construction and maintenance of one of the first roads in Honolulu, probably what today is known as Punahou Street which becomes Mānoa Road.

ALLEN'S HAWAIIAN FAMILY

Allen stated in his letter to Schenectady: "I must tell you that according to the custom of the country & the practice of some of my white neighbors . . . I took me two wives." This is the only mention of more than one wife. Several missionaries mention his wife, but no one alludes to a second one. Allen, our only source on this topic, said, "They were cousins, and were daughters of the two families living on the land that was given me." He describes building separate eating houses for himself and his wives and a separate sleeping house because of the wives' religious beliefs. Unfortunately, Allen's letter ends abruptly, leaving no personal account of his family. We know that three children survived to adulthood: a daughter, Peggy, and two sons, Anthony Jr. and George Caldwell. Sybil Bingham observed:

. . . [Allen] has a wife and two pretty children, the eldest of whom he has taught its letters. . . . His wife, a pleasant looking native, kept her place in the little room partitioned off, lying and sitting upon the mats with little ones. We could talk to her but little, but we made her a gown and instructed her in sewing. She remained upon her mats while we went to dinner. . . . ¹¹⁹

Another missionary journal notes: "He has a native female for a wife, whom the sisters made some efforts to teach and clothe, and two interesting children whom he desired to have baptized and instructed, one of whom he is now teaching to read."¹²⁰ Another wrote: "He has a wife, and two active, sprightly children."¹²¹ The third child was either not born yet or not at the dinner. The most descriptive comments about Allen's wife come from Betsey Stockton, who noted: "His wife is a native woman, but very pleasant, and to all appearance innocent. The first time I visited her she presented me with a very handsome mat, and appeared happy to see me."¹²²

None of the missionaries give the name of either of Allen's wives. Reynolds refers to one very formally, "Mrs. Anthony D. Allen & Daughter spent the day at the house."¹²³ The first mention of a person in Allen's household by name, other than his daughter Peggy, is "Pehu."¹²⁴ Possibly "Pehu" was the name of one of Allen's wives. Two years later, Reynolds made another journal entry about "Pehu":

Fine Morning. . . . Afternoon rode to Allen's with Betty Meek and Susan & Hannah in Betty's wagon to attend Pehu's funeral! I read the service. She died on the 15th about 5 in the afternoon. Corpse smelt very bad.¹²⁵

Ten months later Reynolds remarked: "Rode to Allen's with Cap. Meek in wagon first time since 17th Aug last."¹²⁶ The fact that he notes the date of Pehu's death as the time of his last visit suggests she was a person of significance in the Allen compound. After the entry about Pehu's funeral, Mrs. Allen is not referred to again anywhere. Nor does Allen's obituary mention a widow.

A claim presented to the Board of Commissioners for Land Claims documents the names of Allen's children as "George C. Allen, Sally Allen, and Anthony D. Allen."¹²⁷ This is the first mention of a daughter named Sally. Earlier references mention a daughter named Peggy. Perhaps "Peggy" was Sally's middle name or nickname.

Little is known of the lives of Anthony Allen's children. Few references to the sons are found; however, numerous references are made to Allen's eldest child, Peggy. When she was six years

old, one of the missionaries described a visit from her: “. . . little Peggy Allen came here with an attendant. . . . When she entered . . . we spoke to her, and she pleasantly answered, ‘good morning, alohah.’ She is an active child, and appears like a little lady”. This visit took place about two weeks after the missionaries were entertained at Allen’s home. On their visit, the missionaries had given Peggy “some pieces for patch-work . . . on which she has been to work. She is learning to read, can now say her letters, and we hope soon to be able daily to instruct her”.¹²⁸ In recounting the same visit, another wrote: “. . . entertaining Mr. Allen, and his little Peggy who has been with us through the day, writing a little, etc. . . .”¹²⁹ Six months later Peggy attended school regularly: “. . . little Peggy Allen, attended by the domestic who draws her in her little wagon to school, came smiling along into my room. . . .” Peggy came laden with gifts much needed by the missionaries. According to the journal entry, she brought “a bowl of butter, a plate of sausages and some eggs saying, *makana me oe* [I present to you] . . . also a goat sent for my [Mrs. Bingham’s] new little girl whom I call Jane, for her [Peggy] to give the babe. . . .”¹³⁰ Peggy was about 17 when Reynolds recorded, “Mrs. Anthony D. Allen & Daughter spent the day at the house.”¹³¹ Reynolds’ next reference to Peggy announces her wedding plans: “It was expected Peggy would be married in evening.”¹³² Shortly before her father died, Peggy married Robert Moffet (Moffit), a shoemaker who worked for John Colcord in Honolulu. According to Levi Chamberlain, Moffet was a Euro-American.¹³³ Five months after Allen’s death Reynolds mentions the young couple again: “Alex Smith made a barter with A. D. Allen’s boys & got 11 of their cattle. Mr. Maffet [Moffit] & his wife Peggy were at the house.” In an apparent attempt to protect the interests of Peggy and her younger brothers, Reynolds asked the Governor to intervene. Governor Kekūānao‘a ordered the cattle to be returned and then went with Reynolds to the Allen place where “He told Mr. Maffet & Peggy they were the father & mother now Allen was dead. They must take care of the houses & premises.”¹³⁴ The next afternoon Reynolds wrote: “Mr. Maffet & Peggy went to Kauai to spend two or three months.”¹³⁵ Allen’s daughter is not mentioned again anywhere as Peggy.

Anthony Allen Jr. was probably the baby that the missionaries

saw Mrs. Allen tend in 1820 when they dined at Allen's compound. No further information about him appears until his obituary appears in the September 1861 issue of *The Friend*:

Allen—at Laupahoe, Hawaii, May 7th, Anthony Allen, aged 41 years. He was known as one of the most expert bullock catchers on that island, and where ever known was respected for his kind traits of character.¹³⁶

A letter which described his death and praised him as a valued friend was dispatched from Laupahoe to Prince Lot Kamehameha in Honolulu. He apparently had personal connections to the Royal family.

Per "Nettie Merrill"
Laupahoe May 8th 1861
H.R.H., Prince Lot Kamehameha
Minister of Interior
Honolulu.

Dear Sir

I beg to impart to you the sad news of the death of one of our old and much esteemed mountaineers, Anthony Allen, at this place. About seven o'clock last evening, he was attacked with unusually violent painful throbbings about the region of the heart and expired in less than ten minutes time. He had been complaining more or less this past year with Rheumatism and pain in the chest and came down from the mountain a little over three months ago, thinking to recruit up here a little, and lately told me he was going as far as Puna for a change. By what I elicited from him during his stay and his sudden departure I have every reason to believe his true disease was enlargement of the heart. His wife takes on terribly about it and cannot be comforted. She has sent for the friends and relatives of the family from Kohala & Waimea, and I judge the body will be carried to Waimea for interment.

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
John J. Porter¹³⁷

The third child, George Caldwell Allen, married Maria Lahilahi, the daughter of a Hawaiian woman and Don Francisco

Marin. Maria Lahilahi was the deserted wife of the former American consul, John C. Jones, and had two children at the time of her marriage to Allen. George Caldwell Allen was widowed in 1845, and whether intentionally or by oversight, both he and his son by Lahilahi were not mentioned in the will, according to the testimony Reynolds gave during the probate proceedings. Reynolds noted George Caldwell Allen's reaction:

Went up to Pikoi's to hear what Caldwell Allen had to say about Lahilahi's will. John Ii was to have been Caldwell's arbitrator, but did not appear. Pikoi had to go to Hawaii—he enjoined Caldwell not to meddle with anything and that he would be held responsible for all money and other things which he had taken or received belonging to Lahilahi since her death.¹³⁸

In August, Reynolds again went to Pikoi's about the will: "Caldwell wanted to destroy the will. I told him he would be worse off for he would get nothing of the children's property! Pikoi said he tho't the will was good—the children gave him 2 horses 10 bullocks cash \$26."¹³⁹ It is unclear whether Lahilahi's children gave the horses, cattle, and cash to Pikoi for deciding in their favor or to Caldwell to drop his claim.

Anthony Allen and one of his wives had at least one other child. Levi Chamberlain noted on December 5, 1823, "Mr. B. [Bingham] attended the funeral of a young child of Mr. Allen."

DEATH

Anthony D. Allen suffered a stroke in December of 1835. Allen apparently knew how ill he was and sent for his friends to be with him. Reynolds recorded that "A. D. Allen sent for Mr. Jones and me to go see him found him hoarse—but good."¹⁴⁰ Anthony D. Allen died on December 31, 1835. On January 2, 1836, Levi Chamberlain noted that Anthony Allen's funeral was held that day: ". . . the colored man who has resided at Waikiki . . . was buried this afternoon. . . . He arrived at the islands . . . in the year 1810 . . . formerly a slave. . . ."¹⁴¹ Not far from the Mission house, that same evening, Stephen Reynolds, Allen's longtime

friend, made a simple entry about the funeral: "Gov. Adams [Kuakini] arrived yesterday from Hawaii. The funeral of A. D. Allen took place from his dwelling."¹⁴² In the June issue of the *Seaman's Magazine* appeared the following tribute to Allen by Reverend John Diell:

The last sun of the departed year went down upon the dying bed of another man who has long resided upon the island. He was a colored man, but shared, to a large extent, in the respect of this whole community. His name was Anthony D. Allen. He was born on the German Flats, in New York, in 1774. He came to this island in 1810, where he resided ever since. He has been a pattern of industry and perseverance, and of care for the education of his children, of whom three survive. In justice to his memory, and to my own feelings, I must take this opportunity to acknowledge the many expressions of kindness which we received from him from the moment of our arrival. He has been constant in his attendance upon the services of the Sabbath. On my return I learned that he was alarmingly ill. I hastened to see him; but he could not speak distinctly to me. I could only pray with him and his family, and commend him to the precious grace of the blessed Redeemer.¹⁴³

Allen's body did not rest in a state of "precious grace," however. About two years after his death, his mausoleum was broken into and robbed. Three men were subsequently imprisoned for "disturbing the ashes of the Dead".¹⁴⁴ Although it did not come out in the trial, it was revealed to Reynolds that Allen's son-in-law, Robert Moffit, had stolen the watch from the corpse prior to the break-in.¹⁴⁵

Anthony Allen is the best documented person of African descent in Hawai'i in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but even a cursory look at the literature reveals that people of African ancestry came to Hawai'i from countries around the world aboard merchant, whaling, and naval ships. They were stonemasons, sailors, laborers, teachers, farmers, barbers, draysmen, missionaries, carpenters, stewards, tailors, mountaineers, cooks, and saloon and boarding housekeepers.

Today, most of the descendants of Allen and his fellow African

harbingers are unaware of the role their ancestors played in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In fact, many do not even know they are of African ancestry. Yet these men and women of Hawaiian and African descent are part of the rich legacy that Samuel Kamakau referred to when he wrote of the first foreigners to settle in these islands: "Some were received hospitably by the Hawaiians, taken under the care of chiefs, became favorites, and bequeathed to Hawai'i their posterity."¹⁴⁶

NOTES

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¹ Sybil Bingham, Journal, 20 June 1820, HMCS, hereinafter cited as Bingham, Journal.

² Elisha Loomis, Journal, 23 June 1820, HMCS; *MH*, 17, no. 5 (May 1821), HMCS.

³ John Ii, Native Testimony, 3:123, claim 264, AH.

⁴ John Diell, *Sailor's Magazine*, June 1836:73, HMCS, hereinafter cited as Diell, *Sailor's Magazine*.

⁵ Elsa K. Church, Slave Index of the History of St. George's Church, ms. Schenectady Historical Society, New York.

⁶ Willis T. Hansen Jr., *A History of St. George's Church In The City Of Schenectady*, vol. 2. (Schenectady, N.Y.: privately printed, n.d.): 13-6.

⁷ Bingham, Journal, 23 Nov. 1822; Diell, *Sailor's Magazine*, June 1836:73.

⁸ Anthony Allen, letter to Dr. Dougal, 11 Oct. 1822, Mark Blackburn Collection, Philadelphia, hereinafter cited as Allen, letter.

⁹ Sandwich Island Mission Journal 338, HMCS.

¹⁰ Allen, letter.

¹¹ Peter M. Bergman, *Chronological History of the Negro in America*, (New York: Harper & Row: 1969) 81, hereinafter cited as Bergman, *Chronological History*.

¹² Sidney Kaplan and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the American Revolution*, rev. ed. (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1989) 26-7 and 244-47, hereinafter cited as Kaplan, *The Black Presence*; Bergman, *Chronological History* 60; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970)

- ¹³ James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Black Bostonians* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979) 28; Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983) 4, hereinafter cited as Nash, *Forging Freedom*; Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850*, (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981) 24-5, hereinafter cited as Curry, *The Free Black*.
- ¹⁴ Bergman, *Chronological History* 78.
- ¹⁵ Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 17 June 1832, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass, hereinafter cited as Reynolds, Journal. After Anthony Allen is first noted in Stephen Reynolds' Journal, another man by the name of Allen appears: "The ship, Lydia Cap. Jos' Allen towed in": Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 9 Mar. 1824. It is usually clear to which Allen Reynolds is referring. If he is making an entry about Anthony Allen, there will be a reference to one of Allen's enterprises or some directional indication. When he enters an item about Joseph Allen, however, he makes a distinction by naming the ship Allen commanded or using the abbreviation "Cap" Allen.
- ¹⁶ Curry, *The Free Black* 85.
- ¹⁷ William C. Nell, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution*, (1855; New York: Arno Press, 1968) 231-36.
- ¹⁸ Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1989) 51-2; Nash, *Forging Freedom* 8-10; Kaplan, *The Black Presence* 154.
- ¹⁹ William L. Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History* (New York: Pitman, 1967) 140.
- ²⁰ Daniel Chamberlain, Journal, 23 June 1820, HMCS.
- ²¹ Allen, letter.
- ²² Maria Sartwell Loomis, Journal, 27 June 1820, ts., HMCS, hereinafter cited as Maria Loomis, Journal.
- ²³ Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820.
- ²⁴ Maria Partridge Whitney, Journal, June 24, 1820, HMCS, hereinafter cited as Maria Whitney, Journal.
- ²⁵ Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820.
- ²⁶ *MH*, 17, no. 5:141.
- ²⁷ Elisha Loomis, Journal, 23 June 1820, HMCS.
- ²⁸ Thaddeus Journal, Journal Collection, ts., 49-50, HMCS; *MH*, 17, no. 5:141.
- ²⁹ Elisha Loomis, Journal, 23 June 1820; Maria Loomis, Journal, 23 June and 20 Oct. 1820.
- ³⁰ Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820.
- ³¹ Reynolds, Journal, 12 June 1831.
- ³² Betsey Stockton, 15 June 1823, Journal Excerpts, in *Christian Advocate*, Jan. 1825:40, hereinafter cited as Stockton, Journal Excerpts.
- ³³ Thaddeus Journal 49-50; *MH*, 17, no. 5:141.
- ³⁴ Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820.
- ³⁵ Bingham, Journal, 23 Nov. 1822.
- ³⁶ Sandwich Island Mission Journal, 22 Oct. 1822:338.

- ³⁷ Charles S. Stewart, Journal Excerpts, in *Christian Advocate*, July 1825:266-67, hereinafter cited as Stewart, Journal Excerpts.
- ³⁸ Stewart, Journal Excerpts, 22 May 1823.
- ³⁹ Reynolds, Journal, 12 Nov. 1823.
- ⁴⁰ Reynolds, Journal, 14 Dec. 1823.
- ⁴¹ Reynolds, Journal, 15 Dec. 1823.
- ⁴² Reynolds, Journal, 22 Dec. 1823.
- ⁴³ Reynolds, Journal, 25 Dec. 1825.
- ⁴⁴ Reynolds, Journal, 13 June 1829.
- ⁴⁵ Reynolds, Journal, 14 July 1829.
- ⁴⁶ Reynolds, Journal, 23 Sept. 1827.
- ⁴⁷ Reynolds, Journal, 4 May 1824.
- ⁴⁸ Reynolds, Journal, 11 July 1831.
- ⁴⁹ Reynolds, Journal, 21 Jan. 1834.
- ⁵⁰ *MH*, 17, no. 5:139.
- ⁵¹ Allen, letter.
- ⁵² Maria Loomis, Journal, 27 June 1820.
- ⁵³ Stewart, Journal Excerpts, July 1825:266-67.
- ⁵⁴ Reynolds, Journal, 15 June 1824.
- ⁵⁵ Land Utilization Department of Maps for the City and County of Honolulu; Royal Patent no. 7628, Old Allen Place in Pawaa, Oahu, file, 1882; HBC, 1845, book 2:205-07; 1847, book 3:21-2.
- ⁵⁶ John Ii, Foreign Testimony, May, 364, AH.
- ⁵⁷ John Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1959) 69.
- ⁵⁸ Land Claim no. 8, 1843, British Commission, Register 7-15, HA.
- ⁵⁹ Land Claim no. 264, HBC.
- ⁶⁰ Levi Chamberlain, Journal 4, 14 Dec. 1824.
- ⁶¹ Reynolds, Journal, 16 Feb. 1831.
- ⁶² William French, Account Ledger, M312, 31 Dec. 1828, AH, hereinafter cited as French, Account Ledger; John Colcord, Account Ledger, M12, AH.
- ⁶³ French, Account Ledger, 31 Dec. 1829.
- ⁶⁴ Reynolds, Journal, 29 Feb. 1827.
- ⁶⁵ Reynolds, Journal, 16 Sept. 1827.
- ⁶⁶ Reynolds, Journal, 5 May 1828.
- ⁶⁷ Reynolds, Journal, 20 June 1832.
- ⁶⁸ Stewart, Journal Excerpts, 22 May 1823.
- ⁶⁹ Daniel Tyermann & George Bennett, *Journal of Voyages and Travels* . . . (London, 1831) 1:425, hereinafter cited as Tyerman and Bennett, *Journal of Voyages*.
- ⁷⁰ Bingham, Journal, 20 June 1820.
- ⁷¹ Reynolds, Journal, 13 June 1829.
- ⁷² Reynolds, Journal, 7 Nov. 1824.
- ⁷³ Reynolds, Journal, 24 Dec. 1824.
- ⁷⁴ Maria Loomis, Journal, 23 June, 1820.
- ⁷⁵ Maria Whitney, Journal, 24 June 1820.

- ⁷⁶ Daniel Chamberlain, Journal, 4 June 1820.
- ⁷⁷ Tyermann & Bennett, *Journal of Voyages* 1:425.
- ⁷⁸ Allen, sales receipt to missionaries, Levi Chamberlain, Papers, 1834, Wastebook, MHML.
- ⁷⁹ Elisha Loomis, Journal, 23 June 1820; *MH*, 17, no. 5:141; Thaddeus Journal, 23 June 1820; Bingham, Journal 24 June 1820; Maria Loomis, Journal, 27 June 1820; Stewart, Journal Excerpts, 22 May 1823; Tyermann & Bennett, *Journal of Voyages* 1:425.
- ⁸⁰ Bingham, Journal, 20 June 1820.
- ⁸¹ Daniel Chamberlain, Journal, 23 June 1820; Elisha Loomis, Journal, 23 June 1820; Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820; *MH*, 17, no. 5:141.
- ⁸² Reynolds, Journal, 8 May 1824.
- ⁸³ Reynolds, Journal, 19 May 1824.
- ⁸⁴ Reynolds, Journal, 26 May 1824.
- ⁸⁵ Reynolds, Journal, 10 June 1824.
- ⁸⁶ Reynolds, Journal, 5 July 1829.
- ⁸⁷ Reynolds, Journal, 13 Mar. 1833.
- ⁸⁸ Reynolds, Journal, 17 July 1832.
- ⁸⁹ Bingham, Journal, 24 June 1820.
- ⁹⁰ Tyermann & Bennett, *Journal of Voyages*, 1:425.
- ⁹¹ Stewart, Journal, 22 May 1823.
- ⁹² Tyermann & Bennett, *Journal of Voyages*, 1:425.
- ⁹³ Stewart, Journal Excerpts, 22 May 1823.
- ⁹⁴ Tyermann & Bennett, *Journal of Voyages*, 1:425.
- ⁹⁵ Levi Chamberlain, Journal, 3, 18 Apr. 1824.
- ⁹⁶ Levi Chamberlain, Journal, 4, 24 Apr. 1824; Andrew Bloxam, Journal, 9 May 1824, BPBM.
- ⁹⁷ Reynolds, Journal, 9 Dec. 1824.
- ⁹⁸ Reynolds, Journal, 12 Dec. 1824.
- ⁹⁹ Reynolds, Journal, 24 Dec. 1824.
- ¹⁰⁰ Reynolds, Journal, 15 Jan. 1825.
- ¹⁰¹ Reynolds, Journal, 5 Apr. 1828.
- ¹⁰² Reynolds, Journal, 13 Apr. 1828.
- ¹⁰³ Diell, *Sailor's Magazine*, 7 (October 1834).
- ¹⁰⁴ Reynolds, Journal, 3 Nov. 1831.
- ¹⁰⁵ Reynolds, Journal, 3 Dec. 1831.
- ¹⁰⁶ Reynolds, Journal, 7 Dec. 1831.
- ¹⁰⁷ Reynolds, Journal, 8 Aug. 1829.
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- ¹³⁴Reynolds, Journal, 30 May 1836.
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- ¹⁴¹Levi Chamberlain, Journal, vol. 20, 2 Jan. 1836.
- ¹⁴²Reynolds, Journal, 2 Jan. 1836.
- ¹⁴³Diell, *Sailor's Magazine*, 9 June 1836:73.
- ¹⁴⁴Reynolds, Journal, 13 Feb. 1838.
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APPENDIX

In 1822, Anthony D. Allen of Honolulu received a letter from a Doctor Dougal of Schenectady, New York. Dougal, the son of the family that once held Allen as a slave, had read an article in the *Missionary Herald* about Allen's life in Hawai'i. He wrote Allen and asked him to write back describing his life since leaving

Schenectady. Allen was "much affected" by the letter and asked that one of the American Protestant missionaries act as his scribe for a response. Hiram Bingham agreed, and early one morning Allen appeared at the missionaries' compound to dictate an account of his adventures. No more was known of Allen's letter to Dougal, and it was assumed to be lost.

Using available sources, I wrote a paper on the life of Anthony Allen, and in early 1991 it was accepted for publication in this *Journal*. Serendipitously, in July of 1991, Anne D'Allewa, a research associate for Mark A. Blackburn of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a private collector of Polynesian art and artifacts, brought an eight-page, incomplete letter to the Hawaiian Historical Society for identification (fig. 1). It had been recently purchased by Mr. Blackburn through a Connecticut auctioneer who knew of his interest in Polynesia. The letter, dated October 11, 1822, was written by a Black man living in Honolulu. Among other things, it told of his escape from slavery, his reunion with his father, his capture and subsequent release by a slave master, and his adventures at sea. The letter ends with an account of his arrival in Hawai'i and the life he began there. The final pages are missing. Barbara Dunn, Administrative Director and Librarian of the Hawaiian Historical Society, realized from the content that Allen was the author of the letter. Lela Goodell, Hawaiian Mission Childrens Society librarian, recognized the handwriting as that of Hiram Bingham.

The letter, which adds important information to Hawaiian history, African American history, and maritime history, follows in its entirety and is in turn followed by my article which has incorporated the newly discovered data.

ALLEN'S LETTER

Oahu Sandwich Islands Oct. 11, 1822

My Dear Master

I rejoice that you have found out my residence after supposing I had been dead. I thank you for your good letter to me and for your kind regards. I love you still. I remember how kindly you and all your family used to treat me. I was like a child in your

✓ Oahu Sandnash Island Oct. 11, 1822

My Dear Master I rejoice that you have found out my residence after supposing I had been dead. I thank you for your good letter to me and for your kind wishes. I love you still. I remember how kindly you and all your family use to treat me when I was a boy in your father's house. I remember your kind father once wrote to tell me St. Johns to his family to send to him "like some care of my black children". I remember how I used to dream you about on a hard sleigh, when you was present. I remember too when I told your mother after your father's death, that I had found a new master who would purchase me, she cried, because she did not wish to have me leave her, but I was afraid she would sell me to some person where I could not see my mother.

So you have suffered much a long and very hard letter and requests me very particularly to write to you an account of myself since I left your city. I have come to the house of the abolitionists, to get one of them to write what I wish to say to you respecting myself. They are ready to aid me in writing the letter, and in forwarding to you and to my sister such things as I may wish to send.

To begin the story of the wanderings & adventures of your poor unworthy servant, I left Schenectady on the 18th of May 1800 & travelled on foot, passed Chazy, Troy, Albany, & Pownal, next up to Bennington, where at several, then returned to Pownal, passed by the college at Williamstown, & went over the Green Mountain to the Charlestown. Being short of provisions I stopped at Clark's in Woodbury & worked a day & earned 10¢ & a piece of rum, that on the 6th of July I was in Newbury where I worked 6 weeks. Then

FIG. 1. First page of Anthony D. Allen's letter from Honolulu to Doctor Douglass in Schenectady, New York, dictated by Allen to Hiram Bingham, October 11, 1822. (Private Collection.)

father's house. I remember your kind father once wrote a letter from St. Johns to his family & said to them "Take good care of my black children." I remember how I used to draw you about on a hand sleigh, when you was a child. I remember too when I told your mother after your father's death, that I had found a new master who would purchase me, she cried, because she did not wish to have me leave her, but I was afraid she would sell me to some person where I could not see my mother.

As you have written me a long and very kind letter and requested me very particularly to write to you an account of myself since I left your city, I have come to the house of the Missionaries, to get one of them to write what I wish to say to you respecting myself. They are ready to aid me in writing the letter and in forwarding to you and to my sister such things as I may wish to send.

To begin the story of the wanderings & adventures of your poor unworthy servant, I left Schenectady on the 13th of May 1800 travelled on foot, passed through Albany Troy, Hoosick, & Pownal, went up to Bennington, called at Dewey's, then returned to Pownal, passed by the college at Williamstown, and went over the Green Mountains to Charlemont. Being short of provisions I stopped at Hanks's and worked a day & received half a dollar, & a pint of rum. Went on to Ely Cooley's in Deerfield where I worked 6 weeks then on to Farmington, Conn. and worked there some time for Eben Gleason. At Hartford I went on Board Sloop Henry, William Wickam master & worked my passage to Boston where I expected to find my father but not finding him, I shipped on board the Henry at 10 doll. a month and returned to Hartford, made a trip to New York, embarked for Wilmington, S.C. were driven off, sprung a leak, put in at Ebecove, hove out part of our sand ballast. I found the leak put my foot on it till a quantity of tarred oakum could be put into it and a board nailed over it, put to sea, and were soon overtaken by a squall in the night. I was ordered to lower down the mainsail, & as soon as that was down a clap of thunder & lightning shivered our mainmast to pieces, and two men were struck down speechless[?]. Lashed our mast when the gale was over and proceeded, was overhauled by two privateers belonging to N. Providence, but as they found only ballast they let us go; took a freight of Molasses from Havana to Boston, had bad weather in the gulf, lost our cask of water, & a young man Geo. Knox of Hartford, Conn.—and had nearly lost

our boat, were driven off the coast & not able to make the land under eight days,—When we arrived in Boston I took my discharge. Then in May 1801 shipped on board the ship Maryann, Sol Bapson, went to Havanna & was gone 14 mo. returned to B. [July 1802] and stayed there 3 mo. & shipped on board the ship Eliza, Capt. Michael Parsons, for Havre-de-Grace. Lay in France 4 mo. I was there & saw Nelson when he arrived there and peace was proclaimed between Great Britain & France. I was there when Tusang [Toussaint L'Overture] the black General of St. Domingo was brought in. He had been enticed on board a frigate which slipt her cable and run away with him. The town was illuminated a week for joy at the peace and the prize of Tusang. One of his servants told me that Tusang requested of Bonaparte one favor, that he might return once more to St. Domingo & then he would come and give himself up a prisoner. They told him, No: he was a brave man and they did not like to let him return. After laying there 4 mo. I returned to Boston & stayed there 2 mo. & embarked with Abiel Storer the Brig Hannah, was three days at sea when she was sunk perhaps purposely. The captain and Robert Pierpont sat in the pillory & were in the prison in close confinement 4 years & lost all their effects, in consequence of the sinking of the Brig. About 3 o'clock she began to sink, we hoisted our colors half mast as a signal of distress, & the Brig Sally in company bore down to us. We left her about 5 o'clock & at 8 she went down with her cargo of beef, pork, soap, & barrels of ballast stones marked "Beef," etc. The Sally carried us into Newport R.I.—I took a Packet for Boston, stayed in that Port from Thanksgiving till March & sailed for Dominico in the Brig Nancy Capt. John Harris, took a cargo at Norfolk for Dominico & returned to Norfolk,—Then I fell in with Dr. Nellis belonging to Stone Bobby (Stone Arabic) & applied to him for a sick ship mate. I showed him a paper which I had from a friend which Dr. D. well knows & he said to me, "My God! did you come from that family? Is this paper any use to you, if it is not, I am;—This is a difficult place for colored people to be about and if you get into any difficulty apply to me"—As we lay near the wharf I lodged on shore at a place called the River Styx, and at 4 o'clock one night I was roust out of bed by 4 Patrol & carried to jail, and at 11 was taken before the Mayor of the city. The Mayor asked me where I belonged, & if I had any thing to show. I told him I had & showed him my paper, which he kept. He asked if I

knew any one in that city. I told him there was a Dr. Nellis who knew me & the family who brought me up. "Nellis," said he—"Dr. Nellis is a fine man." He sent one of the patrols after him & he soon came. He asked him if he knew me & he said he knew the family that brought me up. He asked if I was free. Dr. N. said I was to be free at the age of 21, Though I left at the age of 24, that is four years before I expected my freedom. This saved me from being sold for the good of the country. The Mayor said to me "How came you to leave that good country and come to this place." I replied "Many an honest man leaves a good place and gets into a bad one." He discharged me and said "While you are here I will protect you, but mind how you go about." My Captain had been very severe with his crew he had flogged them all & me among the rest, he had made me stand at the helm when I was so lame that I was obliged to stand on my knees. I told him he had flogged me once too often,—He replied—What do you say you black bugger? I replied I think you have flogged me once too often—he took up a billet of wood and hove at me which I dodged. I think it was he who caused me to be seized on shore & carried before the Mayor—I obtained liberty of him to take my chest on shore, but I got no pay, put it on board a Cape Cod schooner Betsey and sailed for Boston with Capt. Thompson who gave me a passage—arrived in B. in May & fell in with my father there just returned from a three year voyage to the North West Coast in the ship Bell Savage which had been attacked by the savages at Millbank Sound. My father had been badly wounded in the side by one of the ship's boarding pikes which an Indian had seized, The Captain was wounded & his girl an Eng. woman from Port Jackson big with child was killed with a dagger by one of the Indians. My father exerted himself to the utmost. He was cook & he threw hot water upon the Indians till his water was gone, then took his axe & received the boarding pike in his bowels partly upon one side, he then split down at a blow the shoulder of one Indian, another jumped into a canoe, and another standing in the rigging he struck with his axe on the back of the neck, who went overboard with the axe in his neck & the deck was soon cleared. They repaired at Newitte, came down to these Islands & returned by Canton to Boston in 1802. I was much rejoiced to see my father. He never got over his wound. I have since heard of his death some years after he was wounded. While I was with him he gave me a few clothes, but his new wife abused

me, & I told her if she did not keep her tongue I would have her taken care of. She complained to my father & cried. My father asked me if I intended to put people in jail, I replied, I don't wish to be ill used, I have not been brought up in that way. He was offended & went and sent me for the clothes he had given me. About the same time he bought a house & the ground it stood on & gave 700 doll. & took a warranted deed. I told he ought to get a right and title deed for his warranted deed would not hold it. He replied What do you know about right and title deeds you were brought up in the bush. The same year I shipped for the East Indies on Board the ship Catherine, Capt. Wm. Blanchard at 16 doll. a month & when I returned I found my father had lost his house, & the 700 doll which he paid for it, in consequence of getting a bad title, and had got somewhat into the back ground. I had now 3 cwt of coffee which I smuggled ashore and sold for 30 doll a cwt all of which with what remained of my wages for the voyage I paid chiefly to settle my father's debts, for as soon as I had arrived he was sued repeatedly with the expectation that his son would pay the demands rather than see his father suffer. After 3 mo. I sailed in the same ship to Batavia, at the same wages, but not getting a cargo there, we went to Bengal & in 15 mo. returned to Boston with a cargo of Muslins & India cottons. Stayed in the same employment till 1806 when I fell in with my old master Kelly who bought me of your Mother for 300 doll. He asked me what I ran away for? I told him, "Because you were going to sell me again for six years more to Samuel Street of Genesee,"—He said, "No." He then put me in prison where I lay over night. He came to me and asked me if I could pay him the money, I replied how much do you want. He answered "600 doll." One of the owners of the Catherine, Mr. Coolege asked him to show his claim upon me, & he produced the Bill of sale in which it appeared that 300 doll. had been paid for me. Coolege told him if he would take 300 doll. and think himself well paid he would give it tho it was a greast price to pay for a man, who might die before he could reach the wharf. After some hesitation he took it, & and as he left the place the people snow-balled him. I gave my note to the owners of the Catherine for 300 doll. & sailed on her for Canton, & returned in April 1807 twelve months to a day. Shortly after this, the embargo took place, but I remained on board 3 mo. for pay as ship keeper. Then I left the ship & went to service with Widow Watts in Water St., Boston at

4 doll. a mo. till the following May 1808. Then I drove a scavenger's cart for J. Price, at 25 doll. a mo. for 5 mo. Then shipped again on board the Catherine with the same Capt. Blanchard, at 15 doll. and sailed for the N.W. Coast & was on the coast two seasons, got a discharge at Norfolk Sound, & took passage on board the Isabella Capt. Wm. H. Davis & came to the Sandwich Islands in 1811 & here came ashore with permission and lived four months with Hevaheva (Havah-havah) [Hewahewa] the high Priest of the Islands. I had been 8 years principally with Capt. Blanchard, one year as cook & 7 years as steward. I had no difficulty with him. The chief officer while the Capt. was on shore, struck me on account of an old grudge he owed me. When the Capt. came on board I told him I felt it hard to be flogged now for the first time after being aboard the ship so many years. The first officer has owed me a grudge ever since we left Woahoo (Oahu) and now he has paid me. I cannot work on board the ship any longer with comfort, I wish for my discharge, but I am very sorry to leave you Capt. Blanchard. He had paid the concern for the purchase of my freedom. Capt. Davis employed me as steward in passage from one island to another particularly to wait on the King Tamehameha [Kamehameha I] & his five Queens, as I was a taboo'd man, and they would like my services the better. I applied to Hevaheva, the high priest, for land & Mr. Moxley a white man now residing at Pearl River, on this Island, then the King's Linguister, interpreted my request. The High Priest gave me a piece of land at Waititi (Wyteetee) [Waikiki] containing about six acres, having on it a few cocoanut trees & three small houses or native huts. I gave the Priest a few small articles, principally, a fathom of broadcloth, and a bar of Russian iron, which I cut into pieces & gave him one or two at a time as he wanted them. With these he gambled and gained more. After going to Hawaii (Owhyhee) [island] with the King and his wives and company, who sailed in the ships Ocain, Isabella and Lillybird we left the king there and went in the Lillybird to Canton, with Capt. Thomas, who allowed me 20 doll. a month as steward. I met with Capt. Blanchard who tried to get me on board the Catherine. At Macao we heard the news of war between England & America. Came back to these Islands in the Isabella Capt. Davis in 1812 & celebrated the 4th of July at Karakekuah [Kealakekua], a great day.—returned from Hawaii to this Island, & after about a fortnight I came ashore with my wages which amounted to about 150

doll., and came to live on my place with two families the people of the High Priest, belonging to the land. And here I must tell you that according to the custom of the country & the practice of some of my white neighbors who settle in these Islands I took me two wives. They were cousins, and were daughters in the two families living on the land that was given me. You Sir may think it strange that I should have Two wives. But most of the foreigners who come here must have at least one, which can be easily exchanged for another, some have two, or three. Isaac Davis had six, and one American gentleman who I could name, kept ten, for two or three years. This is as true as the book of Genesis.

In 1813 I began to build me small thatched houses, I built one for a sleeping house, one for an eating house for myself and one for an eating house for my wives, for we might not eat in a sleeping house without breaking taboo. I could not eat in my women's eating house nor they into mine. I could not go into theirs nor they in mine, we could not drink. . . .

